

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: HIGHLIGHTS: POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS, AUGUST 22, 1975

(SALT TWO - 742)

1. VERIFICATION: MAY ASKED (SHCHUKIN/ASATIANI, A-972) HOW THE SIDES MIGHT COME TOGETHER ON THE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE XVII PARAGRAPH 3, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANCE. SHCHUKIN SAID HE HAD UNDERSTOOD AMB JOHNSON NOT TO INSIST ON THE AGREED STATEMENT (AS CONTRASTED WITH INSERTING THE APPROPRIATE WORDING IN THE BODY OF PARAGRAPH 3 ITSELF) IF THE AGREED STATEMENT DID NOT FULFILL ITS PURPOSE OF BRINGING THE SIDES TOGETHER.

2. SHCHUKIN SAID THE ENGLISH WORD "CONCEALMENT" IN HIS VIEW COVERED THE SAME RANGE OF MEANINGS AS THE RUSSIAN WORD "MASKIROVKA." "MASKIROVKA" IN TURN, COVERED EVERYTHING THAT THE TWO SIDES AGREED OUGHT TO BE INCLUDED UNDER THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARAGRAPH. MAY ASKED WHETHER, IN SHCHUKIN'S AND ASTIANI'S VIEWS, THE WORD "CONCEALMENT" INCLUDED "DISGUISE". SHCHUKIN

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SAID YES. COULD "CONCEALMENT" BE ALSO APPLIED TO ACTIONS TAKEN

TO EVADE NONPHOTOGRAPHIC NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, SUCH AS SHCHUKIN HAD REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION? SHCHUKIN SAID YES. SHCHUKIN THEN SAID THAT THE FORMULATION OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH IN THE ANALOGOUS ABM TREATY ARTICLE CLEARLY HAD TO HAVE SUCH A BROAD MEANING; OTHERWISE HOW COULD VERIFICATION OF THE POWER-APERTURE LIMITATION BE ACCOMPLISHED EXCEPT BY OTHER-THAN-PHOTOGRAPHIC MEANS? IF THE FORMULATION OF THE PARAGRAPH IN THE NEW AGREEMENT WERE CHANGED FROM THAT OF THE ABM TREATY, "PEOPLE COULD BE LED TO THINK ALL SORTS OF THINGS." THE WORDS THE U.S. USED WERE HELD TO IMPLY "HIDDEN GOALS." IF THE U.S. INSISTED ON ITS FORMULATION, SHCHUKIN THOUGHT THERE WAS LITTLE ELSE HE COULD DO WITH MAY TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES DIVIDING THEM. MAY SAID BOTH HE AND AMB JOHNSON HAD POINTED OUT THE U.S. DID NOT INSIST ON ITS FORMULATION, AND ASKED SHCHUKIN FOR AN ALTERNATIVE. SHCHUKIN DID NOT GIVE AN ANSWER.

3. SHCHUKIN POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FROM THE STAND-POINT OF THE FEELINGS ON HIS SIDE IF THE WORDS "DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES" WERE TO REAPPEAR IN THE TEXT. MAY SAID THE U.S. CERTAINLY DID NOT WISH TO PERMIT "DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES" AND GAVE IT AS HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT THE EXPRESSION COULD BE BROUGHT BACK INTO THE ARTICLE, ALTHOUGH BY ITSELF IT WAS NOT SUFFICIENT. SHCHUKIN ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT HE KNEW WHAT MAY WAS CONCERNED ABOUT IN CONNECTION WITH THE U.S. DESIRE TO ADD THE WORDS "DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES", AND HE ASSURED MAY THAT EVERYTHING NECESSARY WAS COVERED BY THAT EXPRESSION.

4. DESTRUCTION AND DISMANTLING OF EXCESS SYSTEMS. KARPOV, IN A SOMEWHAT ANGRY FASHION, SAID (TO EARLE, A-969) THAT JOHNSON'S STATEMENT WAS UNHELPFUL TO THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THAT IT SHOWED THAT THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO REJECT SOVIET PROPOSALS OUT OF HAND AND WITHOUT REASON. EARLE REPLIED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD SIMPLY TABLED NEW LANGUAGE WHICH WAS CONTRADICTORY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT AND HAD MADE NO ARGUMENT ON ITS BEHALF. KARPOV SAID SULKILY THAT IF THE U.S. DELEGATION WANTED REASONS FOR ARTICLE XII, IT WOULD GET THEM.

5. TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS. KARPOV SAID (TO EARLE, A-969) THAT HE DOUBTED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE ON  
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ARTICLE VII IN THE NEAR FUTURE. KARPOV WONDERED IF THE U.S. LANGUAGE WOULD COVER A SITUATION IN WHICH ONE SIDE BEGAN CONSTRUCTION OF A LAUNCHER AT AN OPERATIONAL SITE AND CLAIMED IT TO BE FOR SPACE PURPOSES--WOULD IT NOT RAISE QUESTIONS WHICH THE SIDES WOULD BE UNABLE TO RESOLVE UNTIL COMPLETION OF THE CONSTRUCTION? EARLE REPLIED THAT IF KARPOV ENVISIONED THIS TO BE A PROBLEM WHICH SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, OR IF KARPOV SAW ANY OTHER PROBLEMS OF THIS NATURE, THE U. S.

SIDE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR SOVIET PROPOSALS TO DEAL WITH THEM.

6. HEAVY MISSILE DEFINITION. TRUSOV ASKED ROWNY (A-970) HOW CLOSELY THE U.S. WAS LINKING THE DEFINITION OF A HEAVY MISSILE TO THE OTHER DEFINITIONS. ROWNY REPLIED THAT UNTIL THERE WAS SOME RESPONSE FROM THE SOVIETS ON THIS AND OTHER FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES HE ANTICIPATED NO PROGRESS ON ARTICLE II. JOHNSON

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